423 This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of
423 natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after
●622 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional prac-
648 tices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

423 New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of
648 affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide
551 the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of
553 these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

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[177] [7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *loñko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche
lived in a state of anarchy.

Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran
621 along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have
592 been the central element in the system. Each household comprised
a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented
essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters.
In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting
of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single
roof;[25] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed
only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive
generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas*
in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as
lov, *lof*, or *lofche*,[26] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise
the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially autonomous
592 when no major fighting was taking place. Normally,
627 one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at
his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal
nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the
[421] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it
was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[27]
His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal
household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
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[25] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[26] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[27] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous 622
arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by 592
the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the 627
death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to 681
be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died,
even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the au- 622
thority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he [623]
served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit,
and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult,
masculine followers, *kon-as*, in order to determine their wishes
in advance.[38] Because of this custom a chief's power depended [537]
largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use
of oratory.[39] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth [556]
in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some
extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the
leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times
presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kon-as* wished to depose him, neigh- 622
boring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new 623
leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned 631
into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[40] Several early sources re-

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[38] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[39] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[40] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are
too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points.
Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it
functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were
autonomous except during emergencies.

● 622 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that
far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige de-
592 pended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal.
[721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In
[621] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one,
for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the
[545] number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That explains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great
chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43]
Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to
kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by
those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal,
patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview
on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la
cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is
also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following
numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization,
each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

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[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used 624
particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men.
They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit [202]
messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good
orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[46] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *loñko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have 421
been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when 177
the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began. 657
At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recog-
nized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a 622
título de merced on behalf of his group, the position of *loñko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[47]

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[46] Examples of the style in which *loñkos* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9–13.

[47] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.

in a town or on a private estate. In either case the individual 177 must be prepared to become a sort of displaced person, and must try to adjust himself to a new cultural setting in which he is unlikely to rise very high. The number of dispossessed Araucanians who, for one reason or another, have become laborers [illegible] on lands owned by others is already large enough to suggest a nascent system of peonage.

Coupled with the social and economic restrictions imposed by 177 reservation life and the allotment program is the disintegration 622 of the political structure. Chieftainship under former conditions derived much of its strength from a leader's control of his band's land, as well as from the size and fidelity of his following. Patrilocal and unilocal residence gave each unit a sense of stability and physical cohesion and made easy the implementation of political loyalties by the device of frequent councils at which each man could speak his mind. Bonds of attachment were forged at assemblies at which the retainers of one or two friendly *loñkos* ate, drank, sang, danced, gossiped, and made love. There was a comforting sense of belonging to a particular group, and outsiders were looked upon with suspicion as potential enemies or witches. When death occurred and threatened the stability of a band, the surviving members rallied around to prevent further harm by pacifying the soul of the deceased with a suitable funeral and by taking pains to discover and punish the disloyal person (witch) who had caused the death. Chiefs were expected to be on the alert to protect their followers by detecting and weeding out sorcerers, and they could be ruthless in killing or expelling those who were judged guilty. In other ways, too, caciques were responsible for maintaining group harmony. They had to organize their men into fighting units, keep polygyny within bounds but so equitably distributed that no one grew resentful or rebellious, see that each man had sufficient land to supply his wants, and serve as judges in the settlement of whatever disputes arose. Moreover, a *loñko* was expected to supervise the training of his retainers' children, and through his *werkens* to keep up good relations with other chiefs who would stand him in good stead if ever he

177 needed the support of allies. There is a suggestion that *lonkos*
22 were once reinforced in their authority by supernatural sanctions, and Latcham may well be correct in claiming that group ceremonies used to be led by caciques.

At present every aspect of chieftainship has been drastically modified. Whatever native leadership the people still have is so vaguely defined as to be of little importance. As long as men hold individual titles to their land and its usufruct, they do not need to rely on a *lonko* to tell them when or where to farm. They find it equally unnecessary to seek his advice on the disposition of their crops or other goods, or to consult him in regard to marriage. Disputes are not referred to a cacique for settlement, nor can any leader order suspected sorcerers to be
177 punished or expelled. Chilean courts have the same jurisdiction over Araucanians that they have over other nationals; there is a police station in each town; and the carabineros have the right of investigation and arrest on any reservation within their territory. In practice, the police seldom interfere in the internal affairs of the Mapuche, and those natives who resort to government courts are rarely pleased with the treatment they receive. As is so true elsewhere, litigation in Chile is apt to be expensive and long drawn out. Complaints of unfairness are often heard, and the phrase, "there is no justice," is frequently repeated. The Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización maintains an office in Temuco over which presides a judge of Indian affairs. Court is held about three days a week, and crowds of natives come in from outlying districts. Almost inevitably, they seek adjustment of land titles. If they can establish their identity and show that they have an authentic claim, they generally get a legal document of ownership, but this court only confirms previously assigned holdings and does not allot new land or grant titles to other than presumed heirs of previous owners. Incredible confusion arises from the Mapuche custom of duplicating names, from failures of men to list all their wives and offspring, and from the lack of accurate records. Even the wisest and best intentioned of judges must, inevitably, make numerous mistakes, and the natives often leave the courtroom feeling

PLATE XVI

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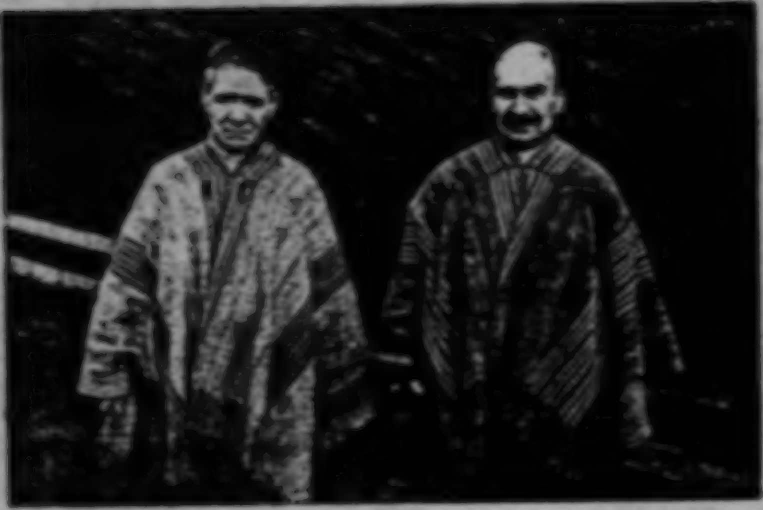

FIG. 1. Two men from Renaco. Fermín Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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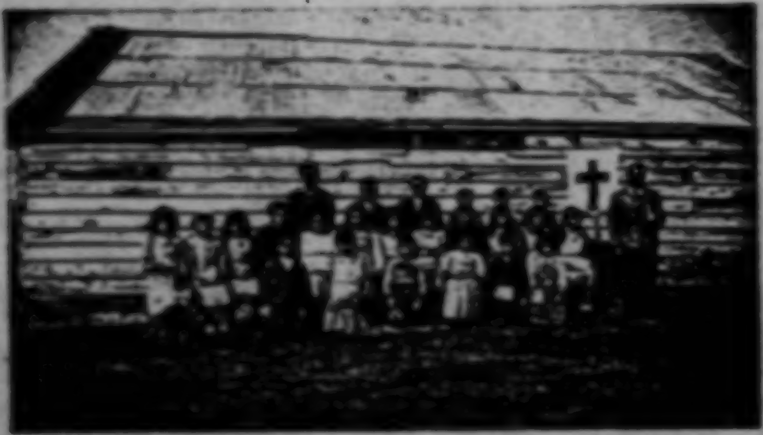

FIG. 2. Children at Carrarrile. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

533 Over the years since 1629, when the "happy captive," Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, first noted that his captors were much given to song, numerous examples of Mapuche singing have been reported and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals. ●[622, 537] Skill in oratory and associated arts was once a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

[101]

[1] For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2] Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Donald D. Brand, "A Brief History of Araucanian Studies," N. Mex. Anthropol., XXII (1941), 29 et passim.

[3] Tomás Guevara S., Folklore araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

[p. 1]

342 622 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

485 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 [290] 293 [239] *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *ñocha (bromelia landbecki)*, which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. 286 Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, 131
the upper ranges.

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of 631
geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded.

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a 619
clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan 621
itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited [594]
by the tribe *aillo-rehue*, literally nine villages.

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form 621
another, at a short distance away.

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in 622 ●
the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased.

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the [623]
chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management.

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also 619
called *vutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was 701
usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote.

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary 627
to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender.

the blows of the other. One strikes the other full in the face. The latter without 578 immediately retaliating, seems to consider it a point of honour not to show any feeling, but does all he can to increase the other's wrath. "More," he says, "give me more, can't you strike harder? That was a woman's blow. Strike harder." At the same time he advances his face to receive the shower of blows that is sure to follow. When his contender pauses, he repeats his cries and taunts, and if no more blows are forthcoming he proceeds to batter his opponent. When both are tired out they each return to their drinking, as if nothing unusual had happened, as good friends as before, each one extolling his own powers, not, however, alluding to the punishment they had been able to support, but to the number of blows he had been able to strike.

Some little time after the burial of the late chief the Indians again re-united 622 for the election of his successor. This was necessitated by the incapacity of the only living son of the deceased, who under ordinary circumstances should have succeeded his father. He was, however, *entren* and *cutranquetro* (lame and a [827] stutterer), two grave disqualifications in the eyes of the Indians. There were two candidates for the chieftainship, both nephews of the deceased; Loncoguru (Foxhead) and Quilamanqui (Three condors). Both were strong, well made men, and good orators, qualities highly esteemed among the Araucanos. If Loncoguru was the swiftest runner of the tribe, Quilamanqui could hold out longer. Though the horse was not foaled that Loncoguru could not ride, yet who could throw the lasso like Quilamanqui, or swim like him. Loncoguru had fought for two hours with a famous Pehuenche chief and had finally come out victor, but Quilamanqui armed with only a club, had attacked a puma defending her young, and had brought off her kittens, and still wore her skin as a trophy. In such circumstances the election was not easy, and each candidate had a numerous following. The heads of the families, to the number of about one hundred, seated themselves in two long rows, facing each other. Each individual had a jar of cider by his side, which was replenished from time to time by the watchful womenfolk. For about two hours continued a scene hardly to be described. Everyone expressed his ideas at the top of his voice. All spoke together, no one paying the slightest heed to what anyone else was saying, interrupting their discourse only to take long draughts of cider. At last something like order was restored. One of the elder chiefs rose to his feet and addressed the meeting. He was followed by another and yet another. Finally, one of the candidates, Quilamanqui, arose and began a long oration, which lasted for over five hours, and concluded only when the speaker was absolutely exhausted. His opponent next took the floor, but owing to his having probably drunk deeply, while his rival was addressing the assembly, his oratorical powers were completely expended in a little over three hours.

Night had now set in, and most of the Indians were deeply intoxicated, lying around in the utmost disorder. Others who were either of a stronger constitution, or had not drunk so much, were indulging in the most unbridled licence. Many of them seized the first woman who passed near them and staggered off into the

622 darkness; dragging their struggling companion by the hair, and showering blows upon her if she showed any signs of unwillingness to accompany them. The 787 following morning the sitting was renewed, and a number of small coloured sticks were distributed among the electors. Each man received two, one blue and one red, the colours representing the candidates. The eldest chief went round the assembly with a skin bag, into which each individual dropped one stick, the other being broken and cast away. When the round was completed the sticks were paired and thrown into the fire. After the pairing it was found that there were nine blue ones left over. Quilamanqui, whose colour was thus victorious, was now proclaimed the elected chief. More speeches followed, and the feast was kept up several days longer at the expense of the new chief, who not only assumed the title, but also inherited all his uncle's property, including the wives and unmarried children.

602 [604] One point stands out: The relationship, according to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the llopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 619 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapúche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There 622 was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings 623 were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than of authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* sociopolitical structure.

The largest geographical division among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* 619 was the vutanmapu (? + country). Three such divisions were recognized in earlier times, constituting longitudinal strips along the Coast, 631 the central valley, and the sub-Andine region, respectively, from the Bío-Bío River to the Toltén River; to which were later added a fourth embracing the *Huilliche* country south of the Toltén to lat. 42° S., and a fifth, the Andean Cordillera region. These great divisions functioned chiefly, it would seem, in times of war.

The next smaller division was the aillarewe (nine + rewe), of which there were, according to Latcham's tabulation (1922 b, pp. 839–46), 50 or 51 south of the Itata River, and exclusive of Chiloé. The aillarewe was made up of a number of smaller groups, usually nine but sometimes more or fewer, generally called levo in the earliest sources, and rewe (regua) in the later ones. The levo or rewe was in turn made up of a small number of caví (cabí), and each of these latter in turn, at least in the south, of several machulla (mŭchulla) or pichicavi (small + caví). The foregoing was the more common, but not invariable, division and terminology.

Data on the size of these respective subdivisions are very fragmentary. According to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 140), each caví in the Valdivia area had 400 "indios," with each component machulla consisting of "pocos indios." Latcham (1922 b, pp. 383–84) estimated the population of the levo (or rewe) to have been from about 1,600 to 4,000.

Our sources are fairly clear that each machulla, caví, and levo (rewe) 619 had some sort of headman. (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 140; Olaverria, 1852, p. 22; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187.) These headmen whose 631 office was, as above noted, usually hereditary, functioned in normal 622 times, in contrast to the leaders of the larger divisions, who earlier appear to have been mostly elected, and elected predominantly for the conduct of war. Such normal-time headmen and wartime leaders were variously known as loŋko, toki, rewe, ül'men—titles applied by our earlier sources with little consistency. In general, the title of loŋko (head) seems to have been given more to headmen of lower and smaller subdivisions, toki (ax) to headmen of rewes or of higher subdivisions. The title of ül'men means literally "noble, rich person" rather than headman; not all headmen were ül'mens, and vice versa.

Vertical relationships in the political hierarchy are not clearly defined

619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b,
p. 363), no one caví was subject to any other caví; according to Mariño
631 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to
●622 the head of the cabí which the machullas constituted. Given the
general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political
life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of
smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed
must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts
(cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older
man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño
de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined
cúḡa (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also
as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal."
Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the
"toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las
familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca
mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming
communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the
political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that
the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities,
constituting machullas and cavís respectively, were exclusively
or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the
622 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and
authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and
the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat
greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic
forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization,
see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adultery
674 and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason.
The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times,
627 headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or
754 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were
punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but,
more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was
resorted to, with payment of strings of llaŋkas, 10 such strings for one
death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt
alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by
Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers,
and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation
of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf.,
e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 40–59.)

Argentinian Araucanians

bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, 177
p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after
the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was
often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp.
149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p.
91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean
Araucanians (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280).

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 621
large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman
of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95– 622
101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them.

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the 551
names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the
father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival
one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*,
according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp.
142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the
names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman
was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might
be so called but not by a stranger.

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more 826
than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the
whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones 847
or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off
to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike 854
cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given,
as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and
gunpowder.

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the 881
Argentine *Araucanians*.

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1930, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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167 In this period, a small group of *Pampa* still spoke their native language, but later this speech disappeared under the *Araucanian* avalanche that descended from the Cordillera. By the end of the same century, the *Araucanians*, who had at first infiltrated among the *Pehuenche* living in the mountains, controlled all the extensive area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro, between the Cordillera and the sea.

101 622 In their immense territories, the newly arrived *Araucanians* were split into various distinct and frequently rival groups. They never formed states, for their social organization was not stratified, and they lacked permanent homes. But real dynasties of chieftains who succeeded each other were developed, and some of them became permanently established in definite places.

It is clear that these more or less rival groups, consisting of seminomadic Indians, had no definitely bounded territories that separated one from the other. Moreover, the number of chieftainships was changeable. Each chief with his people was subject to a higher chief. If dissatisfied with his superior, he took his movable tents and became the subject of another, or he himself became an independent chief.

Three of these chieftainships, however, were permanent, doubtless because they were based on the distinct physiography of the land. The first was that of the *Pehuenche*, who, in the latter part of the 18th century, were pressing toward the northeast, and at the beginning of the 19th century inhabited not only the Cordillera proper but all the territories east of the Andes to the Chadileuvú or Salado River, between the Diamante River on the north and the Limay River on the south.

101 The second group, located east of the first, occupied the western side of the Pampa, commonly called "región del monte" because of its xerophytic vegetation. The *Araucanians* called it Mamüll-Mapú, the "woody region." Its inhabitants were known as *Ranquel* (in the *Araucanian* language, rankul means a field of common reed grass). Its more permanent center, where the general chief lived, was a place called Leubucó, long. 64° 40′ W. and lat. 35° 50′ S.

Finally, the third group inhabited the region commonly called the humid Pampa (Pampa húmeda) or herbaceous Pampa, which is the eastern part of the plains. Because of their habitat, these Indians were often called *Pampista* or just *Pampa*, but they should not be confused with the true *Pampa*, who occupied this region previous to the *Araucanians*. The principal headquarters of these natives was the Salinas Grandes zone near Macachín, which lies in the present territory of La Pampa.

184 As the fundamental factors in the fusion and adaptation of elements were almost the same throughout the area inhabited by the Argentine

551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cosa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cosa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Laureles (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pizarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Miner because he was caught digging for something unknown to the namer. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous
[595] households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous.
(Pls. 20; 21, *1*; 22, *1*.)

593 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—
● 622 and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful
554 and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All familes, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a
593 ruka, land, oxen, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Coñaripe] is rich if he has 50 to 60 sheep and more land than he needs for

sometimes an entire twist is so rolled. Twists or braids are made 302 toward the front, tied together there, and kept from falling forward while working either by being folded on the crown and again tied there, or by being slung over the head and allowed to hang down the back (pls. 6, *2*; 56.) A woman's manner of hair dressing did not indicate whether or not she was married.

To make hair grow, women mash all parts of piliaroral (unidentified), a plant that grows in swamps, in a dish, pour boiling water on [824] it, and rub the scalp with the liquid. Keukeukina (unidentified), a climbing vine that grows in woods, is also used. When asked if men, too, use this preparation, the informant answered, "Most certainly not! Why should men want so much hair?" Men do not become bald. [145] An occasional person has gray hair.

Formerly men cut the hair shoulder length; they did not wish to appear like women. Most men today have the hair cut short as Chilean men do. An occasional one wears his long—generally he is a man who has few contacts with Chileans or is an old man, especially a cacique. Such men either wear braids, or have the hair cut ear-lobe length and wear a band around the forehead tied at the back of the head to keep the hair from eyes and face. The band (trarüloŋko), formerly woven of yarn, is now usually a square piece of cloth folded to form a triangle and then again folded to about 1½ inches in width. It is tied in a knot at the back of the head; ends hang loose. An informant reasoned from his observations that men today who still wear braids have a keen appreciation of the old culture, and added: "I noticed while visiting south of here that Mapuche men who were pointed out to me as having been best able to defend their rights against the Chilean Government were those who still wore braids."

Most married men wear a mustache and are proud of it. Often they let it grow past the corners of the mouth (pls. 25 and 26). Rarely does a man have a growth of hair in front of the ears. His beard is generally scant, and he usually depilates it. Men who do have heavier beards remove them by first rubbing the face well with warm dry ashes taken from the hearth—"ashes of any kind of tree will do"—and then shaving the hairs off with the edge of a clam shell, such as are found in local rivers. After shaving, the face is smeared over with yellow clay and then washed. "It is the same clay we use in pottery making; it heals the face. My husband always bathes and shaves before he goes to the Sisters."

Most informants agreed that it was not customary, formerly, for 301 men, except caciques, to wear earrings—"although some men wore them, large ones, they were." A cacique wore only one, and it was [622] of a distinct style (fig. 4, b).

537 a father makes certain that his son knows them by having him recite them. "Before we had schools the children were also taught, at home, expressions which they needed to know, such as we used in greeting relatives and in comforting the sorrowful in case of death. If a boy was bashful or unable to talk well to people, he was taken into the woods and made to stand on the stump of a roble chileno and told to talk from there to trees and plants and animals as though they were human beings. He had to use the expressions he had been taught at home. He would say: 'How are you?' for example, and the rest of the koyaqtun. Only boys had to do this. A girl's duty was to be at home in the ruka. I had to talk from a stump often." "Why from a roble chileno?" "Simply because it has the biggest stump."

537 Every boy was given the above training, but the sons of a cacique were given special training, not only in oratory but in memorizing,
622 also. A cacique would send his son to another cacique to deliver
202 verbatim a long important parliamentary message. Upon his return home, the son had again to repeat to the father verbatim, without the slightest deviation, the message the father had commissioned him to deliver, and then the answer returned by the recipient cacique. These occasions were not created; messages of necessity were being delivered. "This was a custom only among caciques, not among ordinary men." Caciques were noted orators, and since a son of a cacique replaced his father at the father's death, he must be trained in oratory. The cacique who excelled all other caciques in eloquence and memory and speech-making abilities was respected throughout the Araucanian country as its most renowned and intelligent leader—no higher compliment could be paid him.

537 Today, on any occasion when many persons meet, any man present may announce that he wishes to speak. Men, both young and old, did so in my presence. They invariably spoke of the value of honorable living. Everyone is attentive when anyone speaks; children are hushed and told to listen. Able orators are often invited to other areas to speak on special occasions.

Both addresses and discussions at present-day meetings are carried on in oratorical fashion. These, for example, may deal with the sending of delegates to a meeting about to be held at a distant point, possibly petitioning the Chilean Government for something, or they may deal with welcoming visitors to the area. Such a meeting was held in Alepúe area previous to the arrival of myself and my field assistant. At the reception given us oratorical addresses were delivered by older men, young men, a woman, and a schoolboy. (Cf. pl. *22*, *2* and *3*.) Force, pauses, gestures, and direct address were used. Atcoo ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 ●622 627 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly, the ül'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as loŋko. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 648 621 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. [423] A witran mapu consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelluco, family Imigo; Mehuin, families Huecheman, Mauelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

Caniulaf; and Quele, "but Quele has no predominating family; it 621
did not belong to the Araucanians until recent years."

In Alepúe area, boundaries of witran mapu are creeks, rivers, ravines, and the Pacific Ocean. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, they are lakes, rivers, and mountain ridges; in Boroa area, rivers, creeks, ridges of hills, and the Pacific.

In the early days several witran mapu united into an organization [631]
called aillarewe for such joint activities as the ŋillatun or protection
against Spanish invaders. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 725-726.) An aillarewe was presided over by an outstanding cacique selected by the other caciques of the aillarewe.

Domingo Huenun of Panguipulli, over 70 years old, recorded in a notebook, at the dictation of his granduncle, Antelef Huetra, an old man, the witran mapu of about 1930. These are given in table 4. The granduncle feared that the knowledge of them would be lost, if not written down somewhere. The witran mapu, the old man said, were those that he knew existed when he was a boy. The same notebook contained the names of past caciques of each unit, "those from very, very early times." In the granduncle's childhood days every boy was expected to be able to recite them from memory.

Today, as formerly, each witran mapu is headed by a cacique. 622
Formerly, it was customary for the eldest son of a deceased cacique to
inherit the position. After the cacique's death, the men of his witran
mapu met. Women, also, were often present, and, if they were capable [562]
speakers, expressed their opinions at the meeting. Those assembled decided whether the eldest son was fit to be their cacique. If he was not considered an able man, another of the cacique's sons was chosen to fill the vacancy. If it happened that no son was considered fit, a man from another family was selected. "If the son of a cacique was able to speak well, could be relied on to carry messages, and to conduct meetings, and in general was an intelligent man, he was approved of."

Today, a meeting is seldom held to scrutinize a candidate's qualifications. In general, the eldest son takes over, either of his own volition or because he is encouraged to do so by interested and outstanding men of his witran mapu or by interested outsiders. When the old cacique of Alepúe area died (1941), his 45-year-old son, José Manuel Lienlaf, became the recognized cacique "because people went to him for advice and petitioned him to call the people together for a ŋillatun. Hualme, the late cacique of Mehuin, had no son to inherit his position, so the oldest man took it upon himself to be the cacique—he is older than 100 years." In 1947 the cacique for Panguipulli was Iapan

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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TABLE 4.—*Wïtran mapu and their caciques in Chile and Argentina from "very, very, very early times," according to Antelef Hueitra*

Wïtran mapu	Cacique
CHILE	
Panguipulli	Millanguer
	Aillapang
	Catringuir
	Panguilef
	Trufúl
	Paillamon
	Punoi
	Kallfühuala
	Ranguiman
	Punoi
	Hueitra
Cayumapu	Ûnumpan
	Müllepion
	Curipan
	Huaiquipan
	Maripan
Tralcapulli	Heumenañ
	Hueralaf
	Pünolaf
	Panchito
	Pünolaf
	Caniecura, son of Lienantü
	Pichicaniecura
	Millañamco, and then the son of Quintaman*
	Trureulaf, and then the son of Quintuileo*
Pullinque	Mañguehuala
	Callfühuala
	Melihuala
	Caurapan
	Rayenpan
	Cayulef
	Antühuala
Coñaripe	Tropañamco
	Polgüiantü
	Lüpitriñ
	Tripaiantü
	Mariñamco
Llancahue	Callfuñimo
	Marihuan
	Traflaikeum
	Antüñamco
	Loncoñamco
	Collüluan
Caririñi	Lloyequir
	Painequir
	Chaquañimnahuel
	Pichifilo
Lliquiñe	Canülpan
	Panguilef
	Ynalhuala
	Caripan
ARGENTINA	
Reyehueico	Nequiman
	Kumeñamco
	Antümilla
	Mañquelef
	Paillacura
	Catrimilla
	Cariman
Chapelquin	Lincopan
	Nürilef
	Huilocura
	Nalacura
Trufúl	Huenchalafquen
	Pülle
	Umahuanque
Rucachoroi	Cañull
	Millamañ
Kaligueñ	Necuimilla, who died in war
	Panari
	Traumüll
Mallohue	Huenuquir
	Kalfüquir
	Pucha Tropañ
	Pichi Tropañ
Üncopeyen	Huircán
	Nagpichun
	Lincoleu
	Kastrelef
	Yamüñtrahüel
Karihue	Callehuan
	Colelchuan
	Launlef
Anguenco	Raiñull
	Rayuhuanque

* Indicates man not of direct line of caciques, but a choice of the people.

Catchenil; for Coñaripe, Antümelia; for Calefquén, Katriel; for 622
Ancacomoya, Marico Wetra; for Huitág, Dario Caniupán.

At present a man may legitimately hold the office of cacique because he has inherited it, and the people may recognize him as their leader, but unless the Chilean authorities also recognize him as the cacique, his position is weak. In all areas this was spoken of. A non-Araucanian noted that as recently as 1940 the Chilean Government gave full support to the two caciques in Alepúe area, Andrés Lienlaf and José Martín, two highly respected old men, but that the word of those who have succeeded them seems to carry less weight.

Rosamel Antümelia, the 38-year-old cacique of Coñaripe, who was recognized by his people as their cacique, told of the formal recognition by the Chilean Government: "The last recognized cacique for Coñaripe was my father, Carlos Antümelia. He died in 1942; he was older than 100 years then. My grandfather, great-grandfather, and their fathers before them had all been caciques. Always a son of a previous cacique was recognized as the cacique. A brother older than myself should have been the cacique at my father's death. He was better educated than I am and he had had experience in matters of ruling the people which I have not had—he had helped my father in such matters. But this brother died. Then I became my father's interpreter—my father did not speak Spanish. When my father died, the people here recognized me as their cacique. I was also encouraged to be their cacique by a Chilean who built the road through here. He told me to fill my father's place as cacique so that the Mapuche here would not be without a head. However, before I am established in the position, I must receive notification from the Chilean Government—and here is how this is being done: The Chilean who represents our interests in Pitrufquén in the court of justice for Indians there must refer the matter to the Government officials in Valdivia responsible for Indian problems; this, I believe, he has done. The governor of the Province of Valdivia—we live in the Province of Valdivia—will be informed of the matter and will probably approve of it. His approval will be returned to me through the Chilean offices of Lanco and then those of Panguipulli—Coñaripe is in the Panguipulli subdelegación. I will then be notified, and after that I am the cacique."

In the interim, however, he functioned as the cacique. He called a 622 623
meeting of the men of his witran mapu for February 9, 1947, to discuss the division of land owned in common by them, and also to take action regarding the trespassing on the land by men from another witran mapu. More than 50 men from Coñaripe and Lliuco met—men of all ages, including very old men and some teen-agers. No

622 women attended. The meeting was held in the shade of a grove of
tall trees near the cacique's ruka and lasted three hours. All men might
623 have expressed an opinion—only seven did so; all talking was done in
Araucanian. Quoting the cacique: "Some of the land under discussion is already being occupied and is being tilled; some is still heavily wooded. Much of the land is on the Cerro Trailehueno, just to the right of the Volcano Villarrica. [He sketched the location: a valley in the Andes within the shadow of the Volcano Villarrica.] The total land involved is about 5,000 hectar [12,000 acres]. All the families can now think the matter over until March 15—we decided to hold the next meeting on that day. We hope on that day to agree on the manner of dividing it. When we have agreed, our decision must be sent to the Chilean office in Pitrufquén and from there it will be sent to the Ministerio de Tierra in Santiago. I know that the land that I now cultivate here in Coñaripe is too small to be divided among my six children [pl. 20, *2*], so that each can live off it when married; I intend to ask for a piece on the Cerro. Others have expressed the same convictions about their land and families. In the Chilean census of 1940, we were approximately 400 Mapuche souls in Coñaripe—among ourselves we reckon by families: we were 190 fathers of families then."

622 If the authority of a cacique is not respected by the people, or if the Chilean Government has not recognized the cacique as representing his people, an outstanding Araucanian may take over when a need arises, especially in dealing with the Chilean Government. "A year or so ago, we had a meeting at which we decided to petition the Chilean Government for a road. One of our best men, not the cacique, wrote out a petition, and others signed it. (Our cacique is a man of limited experience and deals with the people only at the ŋillatun.) Then two men, well able to speak, took the petition to the civil authorities in San José [de Mariquina]."

Occasions have arisen at which the Chilean Government appointed an Araucanian other than the cacique to act as liaison. "Several years ago when many of the Mapuche here in Coñaripe, including the cacique, spoke no Spanish, the Chilean authorities asked that a Mapuche with whom they could deal be placed in authority here (land problems were being discussed). The civil authorities in Lanco appointed my husband. He had spent 8 years in the Mission school in Panguipulli and one year in a school in Valdivia. Everyone respected his judgment; his judgment is still highly respected by all today."

A cacique had no emblem of power. He was easily distinguishable, however, in any gathering by a stone, called an ül'me kurá (ül'me,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

chief: kurá, stone), which he wore suspended from his neck (fig. 4, a), 627 and by an earring (he wore only one) which was distinctly different from those worn by other persons (fig. 4, b). "I saw a machi [man] wear an ül'me kurá. Why he did so I do not know."

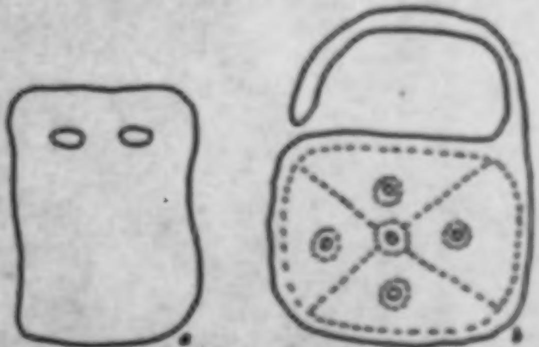

FIG. 4.—Emblems distinguishing a cacique: a, An ül'me kurá, a stone worn suspended from the neck of the cacique. (Courtesy Father Sigifredo Frauenhäusl of Panguipulli.) b, Earring. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

LAW AND CRIME

As previously stated, in the early days maintaining order and punishing offenders were duties of the cacique. Quoting informants: "In very early days, if it was positively known that a person was a kalku [witch], the cacique ordered such a person to be killed, my mother told me. He was usually pierced with a lance at the gillatun." "My father who was a cacique saw to it that there was order among his people. Everybody who had a complaint about anything came to him; complaints were usually about stealing or fighting with either fists or knives. He would threaten punishment, even to having a man shot." "My father was a cacique. I remember when I was a child that someone was beaten up by my father's nephew. My father ordered both men to come before him. After hearing both sides, he corrected his nephew. If someone was known to have stolen cattle, my father sent for him and told him either to pay for the cattle or return them to the owner." 627 [683]

If an offense involved persons from the jurisdiction of more than one cacique, joint action regarding both the offender and his punishment was taken by the caciques concerned. "A cacique from one witran mapu would go to the cacique in another witran mapu, maybe to tell him of a murder, or maybe of a death caused by witchcraft, or 628

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Formerly a cacique had three, four, or more simultaneous wives; having several wives added to his prestige. The great-grandfather of the present cacique in Quilaquina had six wives; his grandfather had three; his father, four; he himself has one. Commoners not infrequently had two wives; in more recent times, with rare exceptions, they have only one. 565 [602]

In the early days the support of several families was no economic problem. Later, however, a man would have found it difficult to take care of two families—"that was while we were being deprived of our land and animals, and were being chased from one place to another." Today it is impossible for a man to support more than one family; also, monogamy is enforced by Argentine law.

Each of simultaneous wives lived with her children either in a separate toldo, in one of several attached toldos, or in a section of one large toldo. Attached toldos had outside entrances only. Simultaneous wives were seldom sisters. "Our cacique had six wives, not one was a sister of any of the others. The six lived in two houses, and agreeably so." Each wife took her turn at cooking for all, but all wives and their children ate with the husband. A 70-year-old informant, the son of a cacique, told of his father's three wives: "They were not sisters, but life was always pleasant in our house. We all lived together in one house and had one big fireplace. My mother had six children; one of the other wives had four; the other, five.—I recall one cacique who had 25 children, because of his many wives.—We children of the three wives got along well; we had great respect for each other and liked each other; our parents would not have allowed us not to like each other. My own mother I called ñuke; she was my father's first wife. The other two women I called ñuke ñuke; in your language it would be aunt mothers. My father I called chao chao. All sons of his three wives were my brothers, and I called them peñi; all his daughters were my sisters, and I called them lamuen or dea."

When Kolupan married, the Argentine army was already in control, and monogamy was being enforced. Quoting him: "I had one child by my first wife. I did not like my first wife. While married to her I went around like a wild horse. After she died I married another. I had a daughter and a son by her. After she died I had two wives at the same time; each lived in a separate house. One was my true wife, according to Argentine law; the other I had alongside of her,

19. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

776 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwe; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

● 622 653 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (lonko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or inalo, among them the captain and sergeant of the ŋillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takunal was the inalo; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Pailalepa.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namuncurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words lebo and [illegible] mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 720-725). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 134-135, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namuncurá, Kolonkura, Kallfükura, Kuruñamku, Kuruñ, Painemal, Paillaman, Melifuentes, Linares, Paillalil, and Kayün; important, but less influential ones were Trauli, Kolupan, Ñancuman, Chenkipan, and Mallin.

Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a vast area 423
of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large 621
tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of 622
the lofche, in conference with his ül'men, partitioned a section of the area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognized exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (malál) was erected between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by
an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained [556
it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the ül'men; 565]
and very poor people—these were the lifta. A rich man might have 4,000-5,000 horses, 500-600 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the ül'men class fell into the lifta class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of the lifta. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals, and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera." A cacique might feel justified in redistributing the land, but he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quarrel ensued between owners because of them.

The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to 622
new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique: "My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques. When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people lived in Ketchuquina; he died there. My grandfather then became cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people to Vega Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchuquina. Then came the great malón (massacre), and he fled to Chile with his lofche. When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina), and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for the celebration of the gillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order
in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche.
622 An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing
628 among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it
was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Re-
726 garding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had
lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cheoketto, as
a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each
[411] formation. Lances were colihüe stalks tipped with arrowheads. Ar-
[823] rowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The
white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of huemel pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce huemel hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Cheoketto would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks
648 on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack
on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately
726 into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then.
The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the
Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it.
622 From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers
648 sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers
did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

"My husband, a cacique, never interfered when one of his people was apprehended by the Argentine soldiers. He used to tell his people to conduct themselves according to the order of things and they would not be apprehended." No cacique was subservient to another, but when grave danger threatened the Araucanians as a people, the caciques rallied their men under the strongest cacique. Shaihueque was such a cacique. 622 648

Formerly, upon the death of a cacique his eldest capable son became cacique—usually a son of his first wife. If a cacique had no sons, a man of ability was chosen by the men of the lofche. No woman, formerly, occupied the position of cacique; today she does so in El Salitral. An informant wishing to emphasize the importance of either being an heir to the position of cacique or being properly elected to the position told the following: "My father was the cacique of the Curuhuincas. His eldest son, one of my brothers by my father's first wife, was not fit to succeed him: he was mentally not capable of doing the cacique's work. Hence, my brother Abel took over—he had attended the school of the Whites in Valdivia and thought himself fit to be a cacique. He did this without being elected to the office by our men; therefore, he was not really our cacique. He was, however, recognized as representing our lofche wherever my father had done so." Names of former caciques were Painüval, Kalfükura, Catriol, Cheoeque, Paillamil, and Cañuilef. 622

Two emblems of a cacique's authority were mentioned: one, by non-Araucanians, a sickle-shaped stone, generally 9 inches in length (pl. 74, *5*); the other, by Araucanians, a rectangular stone, generally 2 by 2½ inches (cf. fig. 4, *e*). Both were spoken of as toki kura (toki, ax; kura, stone). All Araucanian informants agreed that the emblem of the cacique's authority was the rectangular stone; whether the sickle-shaped stone was one also is not clear, since no Araucanian recognized it as such. But neither was any Araucanian able to explain why the rectangularly shaped stone was called ax (toki), since it in no way resembles an ax, which the sickle-shaped stone did. Non-Araucanians had been told by old Araucanians, long since deceased, that the sickle-shaped stone was the emblem of authority; that the cacique held it in his hand when he gave an order to his people or addressed them on important matters. No Araucanian informant had heard of this. "My father was a cacique," said a woman in her sixties; "I know he had no such hammerlike toki; his toki was a stone so big [2 by 2½ inches]. He had this hanging from his neck; he never held anything in his hand when he talked to his people." Kolupan examined the toki shown in plate 74, *5*, seemed puzzled, and remarked,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Argentina

622 "I have never seen one like this; this looks like a revolver! I have heard old people tell that formerly a cacique had in his house an axlike implement that indicated to others he had authority. I have forgotten its Araucanian name. But that was an ax; it was nothing like this thing." An 85-year-old woman agreed with Kolupan, and added that the axlike implement passed from a cacique, at his death, to his heir. Toki, similar to the one shown on plate 74, *5*, are exhibited in the Museo de La Plata and the Museo Nahuel Huapi, and there are some in private collections in Argentina—these were found in very old graves in Argentina. One was found by well diggers deep in the earth in Pucón (Chile). These toki, except one in the Museo Nahuel Huapi, are of dark ungrained stone; one (No. 471) in Museo Nahuel Huapi is of granite. Araucanians believe that stone from which both types of emblems were made can be found in places where lightning has struck the earth.

[301] Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore a distinctive earring, a large square one. One such earring in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is made of dark ungrained stone, similar to that of the toki.

621 Whenever a cacique and his lofche settled down, they set up their toldos some distance apart, but always within sight of one another. The cacique regulated the location of the toldos. (According to Kolupan the army introduced the word toldo and called a settlement of toldos a tolderia; the Araucanians called their dwellings ruka.) Animals grazed far beyond the tolderia. An informant drew an ellipse in the sand and explained, "Here [center] was the place for the cacique's toldos—he usually had several wives, sometimes as many as four or five, and each wife generally had a toldo. About here [one end of the ellipse] lived the families of the men who were expected to defend the people: those who had lances with arrowheads, and also those who had boleodoras. Out here and here and here [along periphery in scattered fashion] lived the other families. When we moved into what is now San Martín de los Andes area, the cacique had his toldos where the village of San Martín de los Andes is today, close to the banks of Lake Lacar. The toldos of the men with the lances and boleodoras were where the Argentine military post is today [on the outskirts of San Martín de los Andes]; some of the remaining families lived along both shores of Lake Lacar, but most of them lived in the Vega Valle—the grazing lands were best there."

Occasionally a lofche divided: the Kalfükura were known to have done so. Reumai, one of the sons of Kalfükura, after the death of his father went to Chile with some families of his father's lofche; his

lofche there became known as Reumai. Reumai's brother stayed on 621
in Argentina with the deceased father's lofche, which lofche today is known as Namunkurá of Collón Curá.

The lofche probably persists today where groups of Araucanian families live in the vicinity of a recognized cacique whom they speak of as *their* cacique. Such groups existing in 1952, according to the late Father Ludovico Pernisek, are listed in table 9.

The late cacique of El Salitral, having no sons and believing that 621
his daughter Leonor, because of her formal education, was more 622
capable than any man in the families under him, appointed her, before
his death, to succeed him. No objections were raised by his people. 562

TABLE 9.—*Groups of families (probably lofche) in 1952 under a recognized cacique, according to Father Ludovico Pernisek*

Approximate number of families	Location	Recognized cacique
43	Quilaquina and Trumpel	Francisco Curuhuinca
30	Rucachoroi	Juan Aigo
60-70	Malleo	Manuel Pañefülu
40	Ancapan	Manuel Linares
30	Atreuca	Shaihueque
45	Collón Curá (San Ignacio)	Aníbal Namunkurá
34	Zaina Yegua	Francisco Ancatruz
30	Quillen	Carrimil
30	Lago Alumine	Puel
30	Huechulafquen, Lago Paimun and Lago Epulafquen	Francisco Canicul
30-40	Piedra Pintada	Pablo Pasilef
40	El Salitral	Leonor Cayulef

"A woman can look after the interests of her people as well as a man can. This woman has proved that," said a man from Collón Curá.

No cacique today functions as formerly. However, a man is recog- 622
nized as a cacique if he has been elected by his people; or, if no election has taken place, if he is looked upon by people within an area as their cacique, and is also so recognized by other Araucanians. The Argentine Government authorities—local, territorial, and federal—then deal with him as the authoritative representative of his people. His chief authority lies in leasing grazing lands for the herds and flocks of his people from the Argentine Government. His chief duties are those of calling his people together and presiding at meetings in which grazing and similar needs are discussed. If the gillatun is still held in his area, it is his duty to send out the call for its performance, and to lead in its celebration.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Argentina

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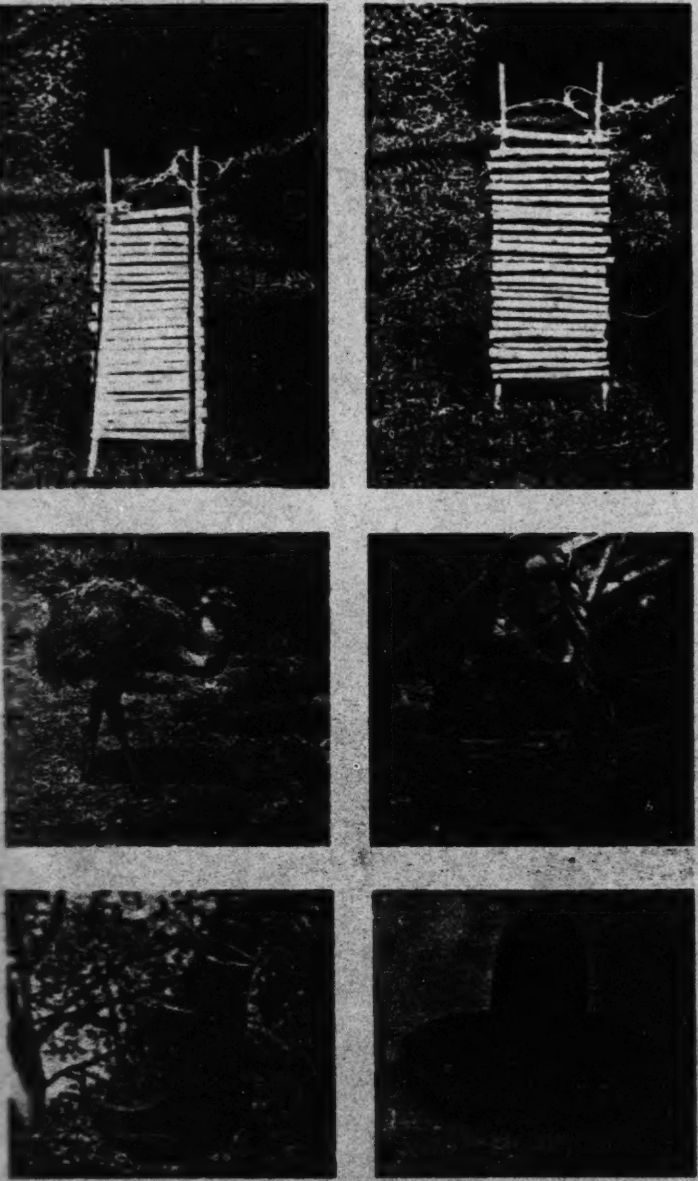

1 and 2, Miniature sample cradleboard made by Kolupan. 1, Side to which child is tied (Pilpil). 3, Rhea in captivity under the protection of Parque Nacional de Lanín (Lago Lacar). 4, A basket (küllko) used as a sieve and for carrying and storage (Trumpul). 5, A toki. 6, An implement made of pumice, formerly used in tanning hides. (5 and 6, courtesy of Bertha Ilg-Koessler, San Martín de los Andes.)

[p. 364 (B)]

3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to 423
land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the 621
entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered [622]
members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy
only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not
dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche.

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took 648
into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) 423
the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation
status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized [622]
and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who
were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to
have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population.
For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal
land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable
valley lands.

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and 311
realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many 423
reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration.
Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary
arrangements — in effect, different social and economic structures [621]
— there was some land on all reservations which the residents

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311
423
[622]

did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

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311

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

C
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This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

A
361
114
621
162
423
C
162

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	*c.* 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	*c.* 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	*c.* 4 ha.
Montero	300	102	*c.* 3 ha.

C

Pelehue

311

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

A C 311 the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields
are very badly eroded.

A 361 621 162 423 C 162

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

A It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living
162 on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble
[161] Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación*
(registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased
considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica)
reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in
A the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off
[169] to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

A If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees
423 who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affilia-
425 tion with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under
Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the
A forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allot-
[169] ment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the
strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to
A farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives.
[622] This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with
[621] their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire commu-
A nity.

[428] Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by
[177] Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the
[178] Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed
A later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal
423 reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for
241 a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance
of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reserva-
A tion on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal
[429] holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are
widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a
piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reserva-
tion benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

311 433 423 [622] in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades. Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, largely through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

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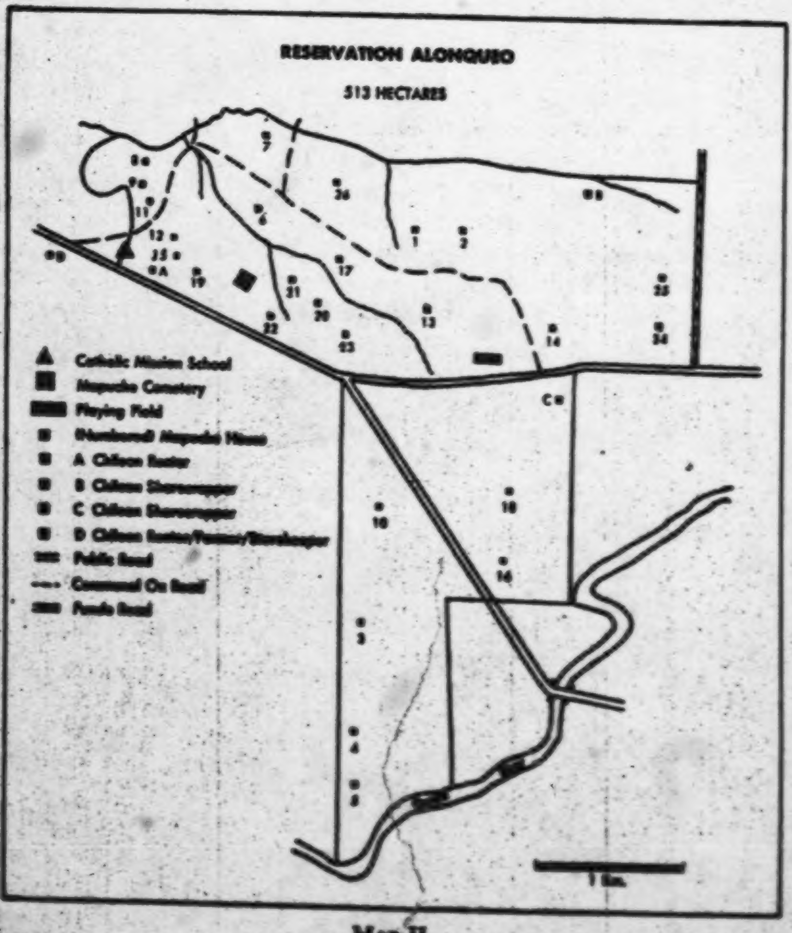
RESERVATION ALONQUEO
513 HECTARES
▲ Catholic Mission School
■ Mapuche Cemetery
▬ Playing Field
▪ (Numbered) Mapuche House
▪ A Chilean Renter
▪ B Chilean Sharecropper
▪ C Chilean Sharecropper
▪ D Chilean Renter/Farmer/Storekeeper
Public Road
Communal Ox Road
Fundo Road
1 Km.

Map II

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding 423
group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, [622]
chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" resi- [591]
dence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held [622]
together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an [592]
inquilino (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership [178]
of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant
de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated 181
mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribu- 241]
tion of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the 556
interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society.
One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has [241]
to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow [427]
residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only [311]
about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the 233
largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since [439
they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice 262]
meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there
is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the [181]
Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since [556]
many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reserva- 311
tion Llancaman. Of a total of 193 hectares approximately 180 are [114]

The *titulo de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[1] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1] [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and 311
large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche 648
lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed 423 on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate [233]
as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land
by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for [427]
a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about [233]
five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned 311
and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided [133]
among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 75 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland [314]
is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, [622]
with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there [242]
is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult 311 Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of 423 land.* Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants — people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly sup- 622 port their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings 423 in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a [248] section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded [563] *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number 162 of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total [592] number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is [591] eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmen- [423] tation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," 241 there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly [133] precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

*[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[433] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields
seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to
the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[578] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[1] [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place.
Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements 182
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and
"feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the
participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today [177]
among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

241 476 [621] [622] [203] Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as [462] well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening [262] meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew [273] (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

[221] Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group [222] worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous [431] "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and 241
from informants who describe the situation which existed less than 476
three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from 622
members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his [431]
contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest [601]
that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by 241
smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, 476
but generally involve several of the most closely related families on [621]
the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing [178]
to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since [464]
a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of 476
it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in 622
the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to 613
find all members of a large residential group or reservation commu- [621]
nity performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

476 [622] [613] with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I [241] [314] lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

476 177 [427] [423] The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working [427] *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

476 [341] *Mingacos* are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under [491] [622] [625] the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

476 241 [264] (warke) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help wit[illegible]cond meal.

476 242 [241] [369] [312] Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

243 [476] [429] Most threshing is done by machine today and mingaco arrangements are rarely encountered in this *activity*. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucania machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to [244] haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region [476] machines were rare and large mingacos were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples [535] dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifilka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

476 241 [178] [243] *Mingacos* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucania. They are characteristically made up of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include 476
larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road [241
repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organ- 613
izing mingaco may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that 622]
mingaco expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather 476
than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the 622
household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or [491]
widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to
lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done.
If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or main-
taining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the [914]
workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed.
In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even
though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, en- [554]
hances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship [621]
which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that 476
engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads 613
are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these [621]
multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large
mingaco groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller.
Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, [241]
the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, [342]
such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally [241]
protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organ-
ization different from mingaco. However, when the protracted task is [574]
completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking [273]
bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of
land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small
labor force might not be able to fell, cut, and haul the trees into
place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time
during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion
of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As [342]
mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construc-
tion is generally done before the large ruka or housebuilding minga-
co is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting [335]
and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the 243 427
night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner [465]
of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2
per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche 243
can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are
compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate
operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh
the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively [476]
eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, [574]
nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of com- 243
munity-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent 182
times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the
larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and [622]
the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being [621]
bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured 422
in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional
possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used [428]
by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal
inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed
of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines 423
will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the 423
reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights 177
and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. 452
This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially per- 432
nicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, [433]
when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made avail- 452
able to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Ma- 648
puche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* [622]
feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, [622]
by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and 452
in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food [426]
and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal 613 621 group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees.

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well [618] as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage.

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche*, a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral [222] and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *titulo de*

613 621 *merced* for the reservation group. This is one important reason for distinguishing lineal and residential units.

[622] It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's [114] *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas*, which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[3] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called [614] "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

613 621 618 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage. Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this [622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

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[3] Guevara, 1913, Chap. 2:15-183, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

613 might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of uni-
621 lineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it
596 does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Mur-
dock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of
[618] unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In
[114] view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956
and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indi-
[428] cate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inherit-
ance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group
of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche so-
cial structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-
day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of
pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization.
The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant
depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now com-
prises important subunits which in prereservation days split off,
moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations
[622] composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem
of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the
kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident popula-
tion. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the
reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment
contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kin-
[618] group and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure un-
derwent significant change with the emergence of a strong
chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the
minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the preres-
ervation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a super-
ficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and
the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and
following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's
618 patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman
[586] change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's
[591] kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a
temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. 613 423 621 After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. [622] Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. [609] He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad [464] spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

613 621 361 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 621 169 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. [162] Present-day reservation population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 161 592 Appendix A 2 gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population [935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 592 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief* of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Carihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. [648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

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*Chieftainship commonly passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

2[See Cat. 116, pp. 209-233 -- [illegible]]

a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in 613
the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, [622
is less than in the extrareservational sphere. 668]

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for
many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an [665]
influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to 613
implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the 578
sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and counter-
charges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were [754
called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and 692]
farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupport- 178
able in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often 613
resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal [578]
group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the [622]
chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than
now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation [681]
had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some
sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the [622]

613 [178] [622] lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied [665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their [428] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

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[551] [179] [6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[622] [793] [7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

613 621 178 648 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The story of this creation may be told quite simply.

After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (cacique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military [622] context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebel- [701] lion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were [166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look- [622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

613 621 178 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dominant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of unrelated kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was [622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were [167] able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

2 [See Cat. 116, P. 93--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

5

The Reservation as a Political Unit

621 648 In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

[620] We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

[692] Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

[602] [125] [184]

[1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*ñillatufe*), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the subcultural context in which it thrives.

175 648 the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

642 [114] It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> [643] [613] [622] Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [724].

> Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [701]

> In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

> The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [648] [683] [681] [648]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bio Bio River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 423 made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [721]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. 195 648 423 After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways.

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" [622] clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautin Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a *tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize* their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was [622] broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion*!

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[3] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the [668] symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a

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[3] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

175 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was under- 648 going significant change, and a new social stability was achieved 621 under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

178 It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation 622 Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership 648 of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was 613 minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth [901] century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was [164] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[901] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

171 When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and 433 hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community 178
were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish 622
a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may 423
move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within [578]
reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not
leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights
and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals [592]
were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain
measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already [613]
claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement
to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage)
in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one
of the members who might want to establish a household of his own.
The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. [621]
Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an [578]
ad hoc basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the
population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable
by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population 178
is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives 622
the support of those individuals most dependent upon him, and 648
generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority 423
is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the
extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other
hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing
directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency
of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, [692]
since the development of a larger and more efficient police force
in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part
of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of
residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-
reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (*1929:298*) argued *that as new households were estab-*
622 lished on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control
over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation pro-
ceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independ-
178 ence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and com-
622 munal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
[423] frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evi-
dence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[648] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning – and largely in the
area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the 178
loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain 622
extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic [596]
sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood [423]
and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave [623]
of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause.

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social 178
structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. 621
Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of pre- 622
reservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, 648
sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance.

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organiza- [601]
tion, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's [642]
reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another.

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all 621
reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with 628
individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is 622
made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 648

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the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

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On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

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It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

Today, shorn of many former powers, the chief is still a political (39) figure. His leadership is most apparent in times of stress – for example when some national legislative gesture threatens the existence of the reservations or when crops fail and credit is badly needed – when the people look toward him to represent them in reservation matters. Depending on his national political views – essentially on whether or not he stands for division – he is aligned with and backed by an Indian pressure group, of which more will be said in a moment. In most cases, he is one of the best informed and politically astute men on the reservation, for which he earns respect and a following. He is plied with political questions and consulted by the household heads. He is expected to act on the wishes of his people, but he is not always expected to do so successfully. When he fails it is recognized more fully that the chief's power is on the decline, but people nevertheless rally around their chief time and again if he continues to stand by their trust in him. There is a strong in-group feeling which bolsters the chief's authority in matters which involve the reservation group with outsiders and which is partly dependent on his ritual leadership.

In summary, then, strong chieftainship developed in a wartime [illegible] situation and was reinforced under the reservation policy which followed the final pacification of the Mapuche. Mapuche leaders emerged because of their position in a lineage structure and because of their personal qualities, which included being formidable warriors, good tacticians, and knowledgeable individuals. When peace came throughout the Frontera, the chief's role as warrior ended, but he was still the most likely representative of the residential group and the logical successor to leadership. New qualities of leadership were [illegible] called for, however, in time of peace. The chief had to be able to fight for his people's rights as these were defined by government legislation and the reservation system. It soon became apparent that short of open hostilities – a tactic tried on a small scale repeatedly for several decades after 1884 – the chief as such was growing ineffectual as a leader in the larger political sphere. Each time the government proposed and passed new reservation legislation there was an uneasy stirring among the Mapuche, whose chiefs acted only as intermediaries and not as powerful agents on their behalf.

It was seldom the case that chiefs came off to advantage in their dealings with colonists or the government. Rather than negotiate advantageously, they tended to remain stubborn and recalcitrant in [illegible] their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship [illegible] correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

664 There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

[669] *Unión Araucana* is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has 664
pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians,
many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering
their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the
feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism.
Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de
negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in
their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out.

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning 664
themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure 666
groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed
to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence [622]
from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on
a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national
political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its
platform.

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the 666
vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to 562
the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians,
make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal
suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there
are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few [242]
women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean
government), but primarily because political activity is considered a
male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education
on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change.

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort 666
is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office
arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to
the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are
always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers.
Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting
hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns [203]
and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement
and entertainment.

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies [208]
in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to
another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they
are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [613]

666 often hold important positions in the reservation community, being
[613] elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young
and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not
too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises,
are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another.
The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a
certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he
lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him
on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

664 Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which
621 crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the
622 following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It
578 will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's
loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one
of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the
question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original
[428] title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder
brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the
older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years be-
fore. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the
responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These
[671] young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference
of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with cus-
tomary law. Several factors have operated to change their position
today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reserva-
tion land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested
[648] only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does
not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original
title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto ra-
tionalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects
of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons 664
previously stated. 621

The chief is opposed to *división*, since he is a large landholder and 622
would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were ap- 578
portioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to *división*. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for *división*. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of *división* accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *Juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been reoriented politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder.

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of haves and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The ones with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the *Unión*'s idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their position in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the bulk of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally distrustful of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the reservation system and reservation life in gen- 621
eral this position with regard to land rights tends to have important 622
repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family 578

621 heads are in opposition to the chief on his stand with regard to *divi-*
622 *sión*, his influence in the economic and political spheres of activity
578 tends to diminish. Otherwise, the chief, while perhaps not as important a figure in the organization of agricultural and other labors as formerly, retains a great deal of prestige as a titular organizer and leader, and has very real importance with respect to religious ceremonialism, the organization of fiestas and games, and other activities having a ritual aspect.

on the reservations I studied. Certainty nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 839
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [593]
and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away— 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [169]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original radicados, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling [593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of 683
his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. 613
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship 622
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such 627]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties
she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [594]
other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

584 836 848 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so immediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

574 579 836 848 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already betrothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forthcoming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A marriage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

581 423 622

of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight anymore, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so. 178 584 [622]

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household – indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death. 591 [342]

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *killanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line- 584 [585] [583]

daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered 582
too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would
be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should
take.

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between 835
individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to
maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community
censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence,
are brought to the attention of the community are considered [681]
serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The
partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if [622]
they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion
of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong
censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated.
Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are
able to restore the status quo.

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants 124
who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator 835
is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the
question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough
reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that
some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of
incest attained.

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's 582
father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who
are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man
does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's
daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his
mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data
seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers'
sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage
rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter
and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral
marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely
outside his cognatic group.

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and 589
widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a
man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental
generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife.
The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common

as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of 582
expediency. 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the de- 613
cline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[*] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became inter-
lineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head [632]
who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sub-
lineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is conso- [198]
nant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns.

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier 583
about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of 581
marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices.

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between assistance was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of [583] a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719-20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.)

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[*] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, [114]
1951:50. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups.

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1936) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1936:242-70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an [737] amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's paramour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that [423] land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage.

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the [622] last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Konas*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings – and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land.

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief [622] to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate [584] the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families, to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration 582 is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The [423] emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, [167] many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number [589] of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the [595] previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational com- [578] petition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be re- 601 flected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the 121 Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in 613 marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the mar- 584 riage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, [622] 584 613 622 it is clear that the chief played an important role in marriage arrangements through granting rights of residence to the bride and providing land for the groom. The chief of a generation ago is said to have had a similar role, insofar as he represented lineage decisions in matters of marriage. This need not be taken at face value. Today, the chief's importance in these situations is relatively inconsequential. Even the groom's lineage rarely takes an active part as a whole in marriage negotiations, the sublineages being the most important groups in the arrangement of marriage. While it is actually the minimal lineage of the groom that provides him land and other necessities for setting up his new household, this unit always operates as a responsible segment of the entire localized lineage.

that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil 756
spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential [787]
evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. [754]
While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not [794]
operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation 782
is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility 241
rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate [794]
the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spir- [775]
its of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the 221
gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the [779]
pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these.
Ñillatun is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional cere- [778]
monial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, [613]
there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set 241
of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* 794
ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñilla-* [628]
tun annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The
leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, [793]
ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are [632]
integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reser- [613]
vation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units
involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended [628]

These are the Glues of

619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

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791
[181] When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative

[628]
[178] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chieftainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

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177 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to destroy the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

CA8 [illegible] 105

105 [illegible]

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublineage lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

105 [illegible]

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change – the economy – and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

[594]

[596]

[612]

[571]

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[illegible]

The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[1]

178 187 105 A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not so common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the [illegible] households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[105] [1] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale survey of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and manifested a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

000 ([illegible]) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
796 the large, public ñillatun, usually in the dual role of chief of a
768 reservation community and head of the dominant lineage
thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a ñillatun
613 (which I regard as a prereservation practice) in which prayers
[622] are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a
household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a
subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called ñillatufe.
796 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
769 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently
willing to continue making accommodations in their approach
to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the dramatis
personae of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless
visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and
curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and
need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121
114 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van
Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on

241 177 178 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive field farming which came about with the introduction of draft oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits. 241 462 Field agriculture is men's work, for the most part, and involves the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological [434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to 426 648 177 Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scanty crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the Caja de Crédito, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

466

Labor Organization

622 178 464 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs

(lonko) and wealthy men (ülmen) were important persons in 476
the regulation of communal labor in prereservation and early 622
reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to 178
participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently 464
clear from these accounts that ülmen and persons designated as lonko or cacique (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, 476
and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the 622
lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a 613
single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a 178
leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and 464
still is) both lonko (lineage head) and chief (political leader of combined lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in whose name the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less frequency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when 178
they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary 464
economic relationships among the membership. In the light of 472
new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as even more important than formerly for the consolidation of moral responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar [622]
as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force. [182]

476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
[illegible] economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
[illegible] symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the
reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
622 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
476 patrilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the
430 changes which have taken place over the past few generations,
and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called caciquillo (Spanish) or lonko of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied
individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional social responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or extensively expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[21] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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000 sons. It is *directly* from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
613 community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[178] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
[592] seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
622 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized
178 economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry
421 (connected with his control over land), and conducted game
activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the
repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in
granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have
tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the
lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family
groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed
a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have
to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before
a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among
heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
421 by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from
[428] infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family.
There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition,
however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers
vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the
chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The
chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these
lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance
system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of
lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe
seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the
smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

776 of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that
562 they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of
[754] goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

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Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, especially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

769 When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*),
622 it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.
177

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that 769
it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation 622
group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage 613
thereon, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal
descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the
dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous
reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one
aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the 794
generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political importance. 769
This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual 796
congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence 613
through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the
ñillatun ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant [622]
lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head
communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as
former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage
functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony
important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance
they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of
bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called
lonkopurun. On successive ritual occasions, the most important
lonko are defined by the host group and, therefore, each
participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a
turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral
line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As
each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal
status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized
ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail
their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their
maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living
and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors [622]
are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an
affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous)
ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of
mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the
gods.

I take this generalization to be a latterday development 794
conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the 178

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

766 556 of *ŋillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 • 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

796 *The Fertility Rite: Ŋillatun*

The *ŋillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements [178] have probably been added to the *ŋillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

796 of grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplicatory
241 rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists
[782] today the small, family-based ñillatun, conducted mainly for
[178] nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurposed ceremony of the prereservation era.

796 In the absence of a ritual calendar, ñillatun ceremonies are
.622 scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concordance and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful ñillatun.

796 Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation
241 provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages,
782 who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. De-
[621] cisions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable combination of each), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a promissory ñillatun is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and ñenechen and, possibly, the old man and woman of the south wind. A ñillatun is considered promissory if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale ñillatun will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (*ewnkamañ*: guardian of *ewn*) and sergeants, as well as pennant bearers; the type of *rewe* or main altar to be used; the number of black or white banners which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed; what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

796 *Ñillatun* is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated
621 by the dominant lineage thereon, and jointly participated in by

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial
796 offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature
793 of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation
756 of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *ñillatun*.

114 *The Shaman and the Priest.* Titiev has pointed out that
793 early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as
756 the role played by a *machi*" in the *ñillatun* organization (1951:
796 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi's* role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

796 There is always a head man at a *ñillatun* ceremony. Ideally,
• 622 the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the
[613] head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

796 If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the
622 *ñillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should
793 be *ñillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any 796
one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize 793
the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least 622
one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation
might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes
happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual
performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility,
and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another
congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation [756]
chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the
services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural
lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, 796
regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire 793
ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If [756]
a *ñillatufe's* knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose,
the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling
in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by [623]
consensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on
the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that 114
shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara 796
wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix 756
José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> *Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatorio de los corderos, algunos hombres experimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.*
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> . . . .
>
> *Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias* (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in
which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly
implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection 114
between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham, 796
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12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which 796
entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In 793
all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* 756
are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* [622]
activities are always supplementary to his.

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the 796
ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a 756
priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi*
were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I [622]
have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I
should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw
in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the [198]
shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the
audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed,
apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was
supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which 796
startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her 756
helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and 789
finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it 536
was realised afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl.
But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished
left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was
explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil
spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her
possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by
any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual
priest.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in 796
ñillatun ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowl- 793
edge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* 756
throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in 182
fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately
ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they
act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as
priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest
deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and
is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil
spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its
ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of

794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*),
793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
622 mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances.
613 Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a
564 *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection
622 between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical
769 responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

role and at the same enhances (or at least strives to maintain) his political status.

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[illegible]
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It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ngillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

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With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ngillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

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One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

794 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on
562 any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible
613 status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the
621 reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To
[779] the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the nillatun ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 *Role of Nillatufe: The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any
[illegible] reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g.
[illegible] A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a
[illegible] functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-
613 chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his
[782] position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

79 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during
622 nillatun represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual lead-
[613] ership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom
[628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

12: Faron E-4,9 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this 79
is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief 622
shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite [628]
poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to
the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there
arises some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the
linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear [626]
on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his [613]
own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the
linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, 622
responsible both to ancestors and to mythical ancestors, spokes- 793
man for his entire community, the chief is the only person who 794
is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted
action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the
ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual
responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of
this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not
themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in
ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding
or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more
festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Ma- 793
puche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his po- 794
litical leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a 622
carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the 621
localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities 178
has ñillatun involved such a large and heterogeneous congrega-
tionalism, and only since congregational development of this 554
sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to
such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested
largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command
allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship
group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political 793
and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation 621
community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on 622
reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds 554
studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great 182
[114]

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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793 difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and
554 mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or
62 marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the
622 chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate
to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness,
[114] they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is
ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual
leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to
[628] ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look
elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to
[769] them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own
authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the
[613] *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on
the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political
affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent
households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the
formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate
lineages then achieve an equal footing with the
segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of
political and ritual integration (the one implying the other),
the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community,
[754] and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of
situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the
182 *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of
554 great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to
62 his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community.
622 This of course has great implications for the survival of the
entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole.
793 If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual
794 leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant
lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and
there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as
priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal
integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual
congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality.
571 The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony,
796 is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche
182 society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a
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12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being *female*, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe. 772 562 [764]

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungalmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role. 829 772 756 562 [838] [732] 793 772 756 829 [613]

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work 772 622 554

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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772 parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no
622 work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *nillatufe* receives
abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to
554 the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 *Kona* and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the
601 junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the
554 senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *nillan* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

772 Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
554 with respect to *nillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
602 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as
613 indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any
578 large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who must put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

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12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

208 The elementary- HAWKS OF THE SUN
177 family household is emerging or has already
178 emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the
[illegible] cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding popula-
[illegible] tion on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably
reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant
[illegible] corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a
[illegible] matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of
relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But
to say simply that "the family" has become more important in
Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to
the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be
to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the ab-
sence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force
or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has
177 declined in importance, without amply qualifying this state-
178 ment, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural
622 change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain eco-
554 nomic and political areas declined after the first generation or so
of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as
[769] kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably en-
hanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger
body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the
past. His political and economic leadership, though changed,
has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much
more complex situation.

177 Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and
178 social function of nillatun and awn to the extent that these
assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the
796 lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous
969 than anything described during the prereservation era. There is
today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congrega-
[794] tion which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-
givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of
elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization
of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes
which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system.
The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the
last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in
adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a
result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are
social changes resulting from external forces, and their
cultural content is belief.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SHS Tehuelche SHS
Araucanians SG4

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade. A 482 [251] A 231

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen. A T 648 A 622

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war. A 202 A [822 721]

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named 000 smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and 342 altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had [352] such an air of civilisation about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

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* Also called Foyel.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, 273 bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the 574 valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturb- 622 ance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Cheoeque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Cheoeque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the complexion of which, inherited from his Tehuelche mother, is darker than that of his subjects, exhibited a lurking cunning, and his frequent laughter was rather sardonic. He possessed a regally strong head, and was disposed to despise Casimiro for his inebriety; in fact, it was plain that he regarded himself, and not without reason, as superior to all the caciques, even though they were not subject to him.

Hinchel, myself, and many of the Araucanians had re- 142 mained away; and I was proceeding to look up the horses, when I was called to the corral by some of the Picunches. These men presented a cast of countenance decidedly differing from, and much inferior to, that of the Araucanians, from whom they were easily distinguished by their darker complexions; but they were very courteous, asking how I 000 came to be with the Tehuelches, and what sort of a place my country was; and were pleased when I told them it was hilly and well wooded, and, referring to Devonshire, that apples abounded. Of course all our conversation was

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873

SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Araucanians SG4

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain im- 648
poverishing of the country.

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After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by 574
Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. 264
Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots 415
were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and 262
horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while
Chooeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a A
chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat- [291
skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his 411]
hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive
dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too [861]
near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

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I was very much struck with the obedience and respect 622
evinced by these people towards their cacique. His autho- 554
rity extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of
Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley
near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

● 622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects.
At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and
children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to
his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used
simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments,
ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger.
The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance,
did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when,
with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from
the chief, communicated his message, received his orders,
and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to
receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse
and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men
than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference
of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and
hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say;
but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the
Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and
their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semicivilized
Araucanos to their southern neighbours was
evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and
araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before
stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil
'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas
was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant
with their language and customs, which have been described

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823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however,
to any strangers picking up stones as specimens,
or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned
by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of
their games, differing from those in vogue among the
Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white
beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The
intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the
consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or
price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the
girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an
enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
622 wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy
is allowable; thus the great Cheoeque possessed three wives.
the chief favourite, whose amiable good humour deserved the
honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all
three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's
children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties
practised towards women and children by the frontier
'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more
dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is
unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts
from the cacique.

574 To myself Cheoeque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

000 of supply for bringing up implements and importing produce, supposing the first difficulties overcome. A railroad or tramway might I am sure be constructed at little cost to run down the whole valley of the river, or steam launches of good power, fitted to burn wood, would furnish an effectual means of communication. The present Government steamer Choelechel both draws too much water and is of too small power to render material assistance in the way of opening up the river. The Capitano Major Ramirez pointed out these defects to his Government previous to her being brought to the Rio Negro, but his opinion was overruled.

423
623 Foyel and a cacique named Limaron, who claims territorial rights over the island, had a scheme for cultivating Choelechel and other advantageous spots, importing for the purpose Valdivian settlers used to the labour from the other side of the Cordillera, and obtaining their supplies and implements from Carmen.

000 The present further limit of settlement in the valley is the advanced military post called La Guardia Chica, situated about seven leagues above the second Guardia, and about twenty-five leagues from Carmen. It has not, I believe, been in existence many years, and was two years ago the scene of an *émeute* amongst the garrison, which was graphically described to me at our watchfire in Las Manzanas by Rouque Pinto, who had evidently assisted, if not as an actor, at least as a spectator at the scene. The troops, who were mostly foreigners, according to his account, suddenly rose, shot or stabbed the officer in command, and then their lieutenant, who was killed whilst endeavouring to escape by swimming the river. The mutineers then sacked the place, getting of course intoxicated on the contents of the grogshops, and remained in possession for a day or two, when a party headed by a man named Bonifaccio, a Government agent for treating with the Indians, rode in and took the ringleaders, who were, I believe, summarily shot. I tell the